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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



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SPEECH

OF

HON. R. McCLELLAND, OF MICHIGAN,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1848,

On the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill.

Mr. McCLELLAND said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: During five years of service in this House, I have never yet made a strictly party speech upon any question, and would not trespass now upon the rule I prescribed for myself, had not the character of a distinguished citizen of my own State been most violently attacked and traduced. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. STEWART,] a few days ago, made many charges of a grave character against General Cass, and although they are very loose, and some of them exceedingly trifling, yet I propose to occupy a short time in discussing them and similar ones made elsewhere. If my hour is not wholly consumed in this way, I may notice other remarks made by him and other gentlemen on this floor.

The most prominent charge against General Cass is, that whilst Governor of the Territory of Michigan, he drew, besides his salary as Governor, enormous amounts of extra compensation—some making it, in the aggregate, \$100,568 94; but the gentleman from Pennsylvania, with every disposition to increase it, has been obliged, by some regard for truth, to reduce it to \$60,412. I propose to examine this charge, and believe it is susceptible of the most satisfactory explanation. One great error committed by those who have endeavored to distort this matter is, in assuming that each of the three documents (No. 6, 27th Congress, 3d session, and Nos. 112 and 244, 25th Congress, 3d session) usually referred to, and which contain all the necessary information on the subject, relates to and embraces different and distinct classes of allowances; and they are figured out and adroitly woven together so as to make up the sum arrived at; while the slightest glance and most cursory examination will show, clearly and unequivocally, that the documents are reports from the Secretary of War, in answer to three separate calls of Congress for nearly the same information, and that they embrace, with slight variations, precisely the same allowances, except that of the amount contained in document No. 6, \$12,712 is left out of the other two documents. Thus the whole of the allowances in document No. 244, and all in document No. 6 except the sum of \$12,712, are set forth and contained in document No. 112.

General Cass was Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs in and for this Territory. As *ex officio*

superintendent of Indian Affairs, he discharged his duties within the limits established by the Territorial organization, which embraced and included only the Indians and agencies within the peninsula of Michigan and the agency at Green Bay, on the western shore of Lake Michigan. In document No. 112, the accounting officers say, "that as superintendent of Indian affairs, Governor Cass was paid no salary by the Treasury Department; but an allowance of fifteen hundred dollars per annum was made to him by the Secretary of War, and paid by the Treasury Department, during his superintendency, to cover his expenses of office rent, clerk hire, fuel, stationery, &c., and, besides this, ten rations per day, equal to \$730 per year, were allowed to him from the date of his appointment, in 1813, till the end of 1821." They then go on to show the circumstances under which these allowances were made, quoting for that purpose a letter to Congress upon the subject from Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, and by whom they were made, in which the facts and circumstances are fully set forth. It appears, from this letter, that General Cass not only performed his appropriate duties of superintendent, but, in addition, actually executed those of agent for several tribes which were without agents, both within and without his superintendency. In reference to the allowance, Mr. Calhoun states, (Doc. No. 112, page 2,) that shortly after General Cass received his appointment, "he made application for a specific sum to cover the various personal expenses to which he was liable in the performance of his duty as superintendent. Without objecting to the amount which he thought necessary for the purpose, he was informed that a specific amount could not be allowed; but at the same time it was stated, that on presenting his account, what was reasonable would be allowed. The claim, from its nature, could only be adjusted on equitable principles, it being impossible to state the items of expense to which, situated as he was, he was exposed from his intercourse with the Indians." The duties which Governor Cass performed as superintendent being similar to those of Governor Clark, (Governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Missouri Territory,) "but more extensive, and in their performance attended with greater expense, in the adjustment of his accounts reference was had to the allowance which had

'been made to the latter, making such additional allowance as the difference in the two cases and a regard to equity required.' Among the reasons given by Mr. Calhoun for the allowance was "the expense necessarily attending the intercourse with the Indians at a point to which there is so great a resort of Indians as Detroit, and where, from the neighborhood of the adjoining province of Canada, it is necessary to extend to them greater liberality and attention than at any other place." The case had previously been submitted to the President, (Mr. Madison,) who expressed the opinion that General Cass "should be remunerated for these additional expenses." Notwithstanding all this, the gentleman from Pennsylvania intimates that these claims were "allowed by Mr. Calhoun six years after he was out of office." What he means I cannot conceive, unless it be to charge Mr. Calhoun with a gross dereliction of duty. But the assertion is so devoid of all reasonableness and plausibility, (without taking into consideration the purity of that distinguished man's character,) that it must be ascribed to the gentleman's distempered imagination, as no man in his proper senses would make so unwarrantable and disingenuous an imputation.

[Mr. Burr said, by the permission of my friend from Michigan, I wish to add a word to the explanation he has already made. I speak as to the item of extra allowance made by the Secretary of War during Mr. Monroe's administration, and of that alone. I am authorized to say, that this item was allowed during that administration, and thus the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stewart] is utterly mistaken in supposing that it was allowed subsequently. The allowance was to remunerate General Cass, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for subsistence actually furnished Indians from a distance, who visited him on official business. These demands upon him became very heavy and very frequent. It was an expense which he was under no duty to bear, and his salary was inadequate to sustain it. From the very nature of the expenditure, specific vouchers could not be adduced or obtained. This sum was allowed, because it was supposed no more than was sufficient to cover the actual expenditures, which Mr. Calhoun was satisfied had been made by General Cass in the course of his official and important duties. Sir, I undertake to say, it was a charge as just on the part of General Cass, as its allowance was honorable and proper on the part of Mr. Calhoun. His reasons are assigned on the account, and fully vindicate the propriety of the allowance.]

But, sir, to the narration. The accounting officer states, that "Governor Clark was allowed by law a salary, as superintendent, of \$1,500 per annum. And on reference to his accounts, it appears that the sum paid to him to cover his expenses for office rent, clerk hire, fuel, stationery, &c., was about \$2,000 per annum; which greatly exceeds the allowance to General Cass for those objects, excepting for the first seven or eight years of his superintendency." Thus the allowance of \$2,230 from October 9th, 1813, to May 29th, 1822, when it was reduced to \$1,500, and of that amount from the latter date to July 31, 1831, made by Mr. Calhoun, and sanctioned by President Madison, for expenses and expenditures to which General Cass was actually subjected in the

performance of his official duties as superintendent of Indian Affairs, and amounting in all to \$33,325, is by some of his unscrupulous assailants and defamers, not only run out for the whole period at \$2,230 per annum as an "extra allowance for services incident to the office of Governor," but, by their peculiar facility at figures, is taken up from another document and made to amount to a much larger sum than that of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. He must be surprised, and admire their fertility of invention, when he finds it surpasses his own.

The next item of allowance, as shown by the documents, is \$1,500 per annum from 1822 to July 31, 1831, inclusive, amounting to \$14,375. This is the item in regard to which the most infamous and groundless charge has been made, that Mr. Calhoun refused to allow it, and that General Cass allowed it to himself when he became Secretary of War. It has already been seen from the quotations from Mr. Calhoun's letter that General Cass actually performed, besides the duties within his territorial limits, those of agent for Indians for which no agents were provided, as well without as within the boundaries of his appropriate superintendency. He could not legally be required to attend to other duties than those strictly pertaining to his legitimate superintendency, and within its limits; but so great was his activity, efficiency, and success in the management of Indians, that, under peculiar circumstances of difficulty and embarrassment in conducting our Indian relations in that quarter at that time, he was selected to take charge of numerous other tribes far beyond his superintendency, in Ohio, Illinois, and what is now Wisconsin. Many of those Indians it was difficult to manage, being disaffected towards our Government and citizens, from having been employed against us during the last war with Great Britain, and in consequence of the intrigues of the agents of the British Government and the Hudson's Bay Company, who made them large presents annually, and taught them to look to their Government and citizens as friends and protectors, and to ours as enemies and foes, from whom they had nothing to expect but injustice and wrong. It was only by the most energetic measures and firm and determined personal conduct, that on frequent occasions they were prevented from breaking out into open hostilities and deluging an extensive frontier with the blood of our scattered and defenceless citizens. On one occasion the Indians abruptly withdrew from the council with threatening words and gestures, and had drawn up in battle array and hoisted the British flag in defiance, when General Cass, at the imminent peril of his life, accompanied only by an interpreter, went directly among them, tore down the flag and trampled it under his feet, and told them that no such emblem of foreign power should wave over territory of the United States in his presence. This chivalric act so astounded the Indians and excited their admiration for his daring and courage, as to change completely the whole tone of their feelings, and they soon submitted, and entered into friendly council and satisfactorily arranged their difficulties. This is only one of the many instances in which General Cass subjected himself to similar risk and danger with the same promptness and determination and with like auspicious results. He was subjected to

great and various inconveniences, and his difficulties and embarrassments were greatly increased by his being compelled to take with him large amounts of money, which, on account of the bad state of the currency, he had to collect and transport to Detroit with much danger and risk. Any one who will take the trouble to consult the documents referred to, will acknowledge the almost insurmountable difficulties he had to encounter, and wonder how he ever succeeded so well in the discharge of his duties. It was customary at the time to allow two and a half per cent. on all moneys disbursed under similar circumstances; and though some \$400,000 passed through his hands, (most of which he had at his own cost and expense to transport from the interior of Ohio through an unsettled country of about two hundred miles,) he never was allowed one cent for it, except in what the gentleman from Pennsylvania calls extra allowances.

Under these circumstances, he considered that some reasonable allowance should be made to him for the extra labor and heavy expenses to which, in various ways, he was subjected, and for disbursing this large amount of money, none of which duties legitimately belonged to him. Accordingly, in the year 1828, he submitted an account for these extra and extraordinary services, for the seven years ending with 1828, amounting to \$14,373 55, being at the same rate as had been allowed to his predecessor (Governor Hull) for similar services. Without questioning the justice of the claim, the Secretary of War, General P. B. Porter, submitted it to the Attorney General, the upright and eminent Mr. Wirt, for his opinion, and Mr. Wirt deciding it favorably, said:

"I understand the facts stated in Governor Cass's letter of the 25th November to be admitted; and if so, I can perceive no ground on which his claim can properly be resisted. His salary as governor is compensation for governor, but the services for which he claims do not bring to his duty as governor of the Michigan Territory, and having been employed by Government to perform these services, he has a fair claim for them on the principles of a *quantum meruit*. The facts conceded, his right is undeniable."

Thereupon the Secretary of War allowed General Cass \$10,500, being at the rate of \$1,500 per annum for the period embraced in the account, and that sum was accordingly paid some time prior to his becoming Secretary of War, and Mr. Calhoun never had the claim under consideration, (so far as I can ascertain,) and therefore could not have rejected it.

When General Cass entered upon his duties as Secretary of War, there was due to him the same allowance for the balance of his term as superintendent, namely, from 1829 to July 31st, 1831, inclusive, amounting to \$3,875. This allowance being based on the same principles as the case decided by Mr. Wirt, there would have been no impropriety in the accounting officer's acting on the account, and paying him the amount; but governed by the most scrupulous delicacy, and the nicest sense of propriety, he endorsed upon the account the following:

"In the peculiar position in which I now stand in relation to the department, although the charge is not only unexceptionable in itself, but supported by a previous decision of the War Department, yet I am willing it should remain suspended and not acted on until it can with propriety be decided."

It accordingly remained suspended until November, 1837, a year after he had left the country for France, when it was taken up and allowed, as a matter of course.

Another item of the tissue of misrepresentations is, that in addition to the other allowances noticed, General Cass was paid \$27,087 for extra services as commissioner in negotiating treaties with various tribes of Indians, &c. This item is taken from document No. 6, and \$14,375 of the amount is a repetition of the same sum contained in document 112, being the allowance before noticed, for labor and expenses in superintending Indians and making disbursements not within his superintendency, granted under the opinion of Mr. Wirt. Thus, instead of being the amount falsely stated, it was only \$12,712; and even of this sum the document shows that a considerable portion was for expenses. The items have been critically analyzed and the expenses calculated by a gentleman of long experience in, and perfectly conversant with, such matters, who was with General Cass on many of the occasions for which the allowances were made, and who states that the actual and unavoidable expenses could not have been less than \$6,442, leaving for compensation only \$6,270—a small compensation for prolonged absences from his family, through a period of seventeen years; great exposure, risk, and danger, and a travel of over ten thousand miles, in birch-bark canoes, along the lakes and rivers, on horseback and on foot—all involving great toil and discomfort.

Of all the posts of Governors of Territories, that of General Cass was, perhaps, the most important and responsible. His salary as Governor was \$2,000 per annum; whilst that allowed to the Governor of the Territory of Orleans, who had no superintendency of Indian affairs, was \$5,000 per annum; and the strong probability is, that the duties of the one as Governor were more arduous than those of the other.

To recapitulate: the allowances, as shown by a correct analysis of the documents which have been so frequently referred to, were as follows:

1. The allowances made by Mr. Calhoun, November 2, 1821, and sanctioned by President Madison, and continued to him by subsequent Secretaries of War, (one for rations, from October 9, 1813, to May 29, 1822—10 rations per day, at 21 cents each—for supporting the Indians, \$6,610; and the other being for office rent, clerk hire, fuel, stationery, &c., from October 9, 1813 to July 31, 1831, \$26,715. See Doc. No. 112, p. 2, and Doc. No. 214, p. 2.) . . . \$33,325 00
2. The allowances made under the opinion of Mr. Wirt, by the Secretary of War, during Mr. Adams's administration, and subsequently, (one for services in superintending the agencies of Piqua in Ohio, Fort Wayne in Indiana, Chicago in Illinois, &c., at \$1,500 per annum, for the years 1822-23-24-25-26-27 and '28, \$10,500; and another, for similar services, same agencies, for 1829, 1830, and the first seven months of 1831, at \$1,500 per annum, as allowed for previous years—being amounts received for actual services and expenses, as superintendent, in travelling, attending councils, and disbursing some \$100,000, for which others were allowed 21 per cent.—See Doc. No. 6, p. 13, and Doc. No. 112, p. 9.) . . . 14,375 00
3. The other allowances, viz:—

For a per diem of \$8 per day, for fifty-five days' extra services, as commissioner at the treaty of Greenville in 1814, and St. Mary's in 1818, and concluding arrangements with the Wyandots in 1817 and 1818, (\$440); travelling expenses in relation to same business, (\$260); attendance and travelling allowance at Fort Meigs in 1817,





(\$209); travelling and other expenses incident to the treaty of St. Mary's, in September and October, 1818, (\$600); *travelling and other expenses incident to the treaty of Sagunaw*, in 1819, (\$240); travelling and other expenses incident to the treaty of Sault de Ste. Marie, in 1820, (\$335); and for fifty days' extra services, previous and subsequent to the aforesaid treaties, in preparing for and carrying into effect the several stipulations thereof, (\$100.)

Services as commissioner at treaty of Chicago, 52 days, at \$8 per day, between June and November, 1821, (\$416); and mileage for 350 miles, at \$8 for every 20 miles, (\$280.)

Attendance at seat of Government, by order of the Secretary of War, on settlement of his accounts, from October 31, 1821, to May 29, 1822, 208 days, at 10 rations (at 20 cents each) per day, (\$416); and allowance for expenses travelling to and from Washington, and whilst there, (\$1,022.)

Services as commissioner to treat with Indians at Wapagh-Konetta, and his travelling allowance from 4th to 30th May, 1825, (\$256.)

Also, for similar services at Prairie du Chien, from 4th June to 7th October, 1825, including travelling allowance and attendance in taking the treaty to Washington, (\$2,092.)

Similar services, holding treaties in Indiana, in September and October, 1825, 46 days, at \$8 per day, (\$368); and his travelling allowance, (\$184.)

Similar services at Fond du Lac, 65 days, between the 10th June and 10th September, 1826, at \$8 per day, (\$520); and travelling allowance for 2,100 miles, at 40 cents per mile, (\$840.)

Similar services at Rute des Morte, in June, July, and August, 1827, 60 days, at \$8 per day, (\$480); and travelling allowance for 1,200 miles, at 40 cents per mile, (\$480.)

Similar services at Green Bay, 51 days, from 10th July to 29th August, 1828, at \$8 per day, (\$408); and 15 days in preparations and arrangements for the treaties and closing their concerns, (\$120); and travelling allowance for 1,450 miles, at 40 cents per mile, (\$584.)

Similar services at St. Joseph, in September, 1827, 10 days, at \$8 per day, (\$80); and mileage, 400 miles, at 40 cents per mile, (\$160.)

Services and expenses at seat of Government, 111 days, between 22d October, 1828, and 10th February, 1829, in preparing a code for the regulation of Indian affairs, in conformity to orders of the Secretary of War, at \$8 per day, (\$880); and mileage for 1,600 miles, from Detroit to Washington city, and back, at \$8 for every 20 miles, (\$640.)

In all..... 12,712 00

Total..... \$60,412 00

The first, as has been shown, was for the actual and necessary expenses of his local office, as superintendent of Indian affairs, within the peninsula of Michigan, during a space of over eighteen-and-a-half years. It was, therefore, no emolument or compensation whatever. It was to cover the expenses of the office, and not the officer. And General Cass, when applying for it in 1821, says: "It may be readily presumed that, upon such a frontier, and in such times, my expenses must have far exceeded the salary of my office. I can solemnly aver, that I expended much more than the whole sum received as salary." (\$2,000 per annum;) and refers to Colonel Hunt and General Macomb, and incidentally to General McArthur and Mr. Graham, all gentlemen distinguished for their veracity and integrity. (See Doc. 112, pages 4 and 5.)

The second item was for services and expenses as superintendent and agent for numerous tribes of Indians not within his superintendency, which duties the law did not require him to perform, and for which, as decided by Mr. Wirt, he was clearly

entitled to extra compensation. One-half of this amount at least was for expenses.

Of the third item, it has already been shown that only \$6,270 was for compensation, the balance being for actual and necessary expenses. Thus, instead of his having received over \$100,500, or \$60,412, mainly as extra compensation, the whole amount paid him, for extra services of all kinds, beyond his salary as Governor, did not exceed, in eighteen-and-a-half years, \$13,457 50. This is probably a far less sum than, on examination of the accounts of his distinguished opponent, would show that he has received as extra compensation during his career of service; which service, it is no disparagement to him to say, has, for the greater part of his time, consisted of only the formal routine of light military duty, at comparatively unimportant posts, and for which, a calculation of only his regular and ordinary pay and allowances, in the several grades through which he has passed, will show that he has received (separate and apart from extra allowances) the large sum of \$127,000—as will appear by a statement in my possession, and subject to any person's examination.

I do not desire to, and shall not, draw any invidious comparisons between these two men. My only design is, to show that General Taylor, as well as General Cass, has received his share of the public treasure; at the same time I am candid enough to frankly admit my belief that he has deserved every farthing he received. General Cass has received nothing from the General Government that others have not received for similar services.

I will now devote a few moments to showing that it has been the invariable practice of the Government to make what the gentleman pleases to denominate *extra allowances*; and I do it with no malicious or improper spirit, but only for the purpose of relieving a distinguished man's character from a vile aspersion.

General Scott received the following, (see Doc. No. 6, p. 41:)

1. For a per diem of \$6, from Sept. 22, 1818, to 17th May, 1819, engaged in the compilation of a military work for the army, by order of the War Department.	\$1,428 00
2. For a per diem of \$6, engaged in 1824 in revising infantry tactics.	1,104 00
3. Similar services in 1825.	540 00
4. Compensation as author and compiler of the new system of discipline and tactics, and for superintending the printing of the same.	5,000 00
5. For a per diem of \$8, for one hundred and eighteen days' services as Commissioner with Pottawatomie Indians, and treating with the Winnebagoes, Saes and Foxes, at Chicago, Prairie du Chien, and Rock Island, from 22d June to 17th October, 1832, (\$844.) and mileage from New York, by way of Chicago and Prairie du Chien, to Rock Island and back, 2,980 miles, at 40 cents per mile, (\$1,192.) but General Scott not to charge for army transportation in his account as Major General.	2,136 00
6. For a per diem of \$8 for two hundred and forty-four days' services as Commissioner to treat and make arrangements with the Cherokee Indians, from the 11th April to 10th December, 1833, (\$1,952.) and his expenses during the time, (\$358 71).	2,310 71
Total.	12,518 71

George B. Porter, late Governor of the Territory of Michigan, for services similar to those of General Cass, (see Doc. No. 6, p. 38,) received during four years and five months..... \$8,472 60

I might also refer to the cases of Governor Duval, of Florida, and Governors Miller, Izard, and Pope, of Arkansas, and others, in all the different departments of the Government; but to do so would be consuming your time to little purpose.

But, after all, the gentleman from Pennsylvania has not, in his own legislative career, manifested any antipathy to these extra allowances. Only a few days ago, the bill to pay the widow of Joseph Nourse—which was for the payment of 2½ per cent. for disbursing moneys whilst he was Register of the Treasury—amounting to \$23,582 72, and whilst Mr. Nourse was, during most of the time, receiving a salary of \$2,400 and \$3,000 per annum—was under consideration, and its merits were fully discussed, and the gentleman could not have misunderstood it; and yet, when the yeas and nays were ordered, he voted for it. The gentleman's party also gave as a gratuity to Mrs. Harrison, widow of General Harrison, \$25,000. I do not give these instances for the purpose of showing my disapprobation of them—for of that I do not speak—but merely to exhibit the spirit and feelings of the man who has made many of these reckless charges.

I will now, Mr. Chairman, direct the attention of the committee to the manner in which the gentleman has stated these several items in his printed speech, in order to exhibit its unfairness, and the injustice done to General Cass. One of the charges in his account, which, up to 1822, was allowed by Mr. Calhoun, runs thus in the gentleman's speech: "From October 9, 1813, to July 31, 1831, \$1,500 per annum, *extra salary*;" when, by referring to Doc. 112, we find, instead of being for "extra salary," it was "to cover his expenses for office rent, clerk hire, fuel, stationery," &c. In noting the item for making treaties, &c., at Greenville, Saginaw, and Sault Ste. Marie, &c., he closes with these words—"Fifty days preparing before and after treaty;" leaving it naked and unintelligible, and conveying the impression that General Cass had really put so much money into his pocket, without having performed any service to deserve it; when the language used in the document, No. 6, from which he copied, is, this: "And for fifty days *extra services*, previous and subsequent to the aforesaid treaties, in preparing for and carrying into effect the several stipulations thereof," explaining this part of the item satisfactorily. As the rules of order will not permit me to state why he has resorted to the Procrustean system here, I leave it to you to determine what inference might be drawn from it. In his second statement, which appears to be general, he asserts that "fifteen hundred per annum *extra salary*, (the same to which I have before alluded,) from 1813 to 1831, nearly eighteen years, was "*paid in 1831*;" which was years after the services were rendered. Now, the documents and the accounts stated, show that the several amounts were paid in 1822, and thereafter whenever the accounts of General Cass were audited. There was no postponement or refusal of payment, and no extraordinary delay. The gentleman from Pennsylvania has inserted in his speech a particular and general statement of these items of account, and in his addition of one of his columns of figures, he has committed an error of more than four thousand dollars; and it will be seen, that if he had entered the items properly, and made his

calculation correctly, it would have satisfied him that the imputation of General Cass's charging twice for the same item was without foundation.

Mr. Chairman, my time will not permit me longer to dwell on this portion of his speech, which, from the adroit manner in which it is drawn up, is calculated and perhaps designed to mislead and deceive the people. If such was not his purpose, why were not all the items of account set down as they appeared in the official documents from which they purported to have been taken? Did he act upon the maxim that "all's fair in politics?" I should be glad to throw the mantle of charity over it, but all the circumstances are so strong, that I am in doubt whether it can be ascribed to anything else than a disposition to pervert the truth.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, I have endeavored, as briefly as the nature of the case would permit, to reply to this charge, and whether successfully or not, I submit most cheerfully to the candor and good sense of the committee.

I will now proceed to the examination of another accusation of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. STEWART,] which will be found to be equally groundless and unjustifiable. He says:

"General Cass was once a great lover of the volunteers. He was a volunteer himself, and was sometimes called the 'old volunteer.' But now it was on the records of Congress, and there was no escape from it, that on the 29th of December, General Cass introduced into the Senate a bill reducing the pay of volunteers, for commutation for clothing, one third." He knew it was said that General Cass had seen the Adjutant General, and got him or the President to nullify by construction, or veto it *ex post facto*. He might have found it would not do to strip the volunteers of their clothing: hanging and burning in effigy might have been unpleasant."

To such as the gentleman from Pennsylvania to be burnt in effigy, might be very unpleasant, and I doubt not it would; but in the mind of a man of as high moral and intellectual character as General Cass, it could cause not even a feeling of displeasure against the perpetrators of such an act. Now, I undertake to say, Mr. Chairman, that a paragraph more replete with willful errors was never, in so few words, uttered. The volunteer who first made the charge in Mexico had not access to the records, could not ascertain the facts, and therefore, on the impulse of the moment, and under undue excitement, and from false information, he did that which I doubt not he will deeply regret when he learns the truth. But what palliation of the offence can be found for the gentleman from Pennsylvania? All the facts were within his reach, many of the circumstances should have been within his own knowledge, and yet, to vilify a distinguished political opponent, he resorts to the most monstrous misrepresentations. That gentleman could not fail to remember the return of Colonel Baker, of Illinois, from Mexico to this Hall, on the 25th of December, 1846, for it was rendered memorable by many of the accompanying circumstances, and exhibited a scene which we all hope never to witness again. Colonel Baker claimed the privilege of addressing the House; and after some objections were obviated, proceeded, and told some most unpalatable truths. In his remarks, he said he had been deputed to come here to effect a change of the system for supplying clothing to the

copy of the

volunteers; and stated, that of the twenty-six regiments of volunteers who had been sent to Mexico, there were but two or three who were possessed of decent clothing for the campaign, and urged, in the most impressive and imploring manner, the adoption of a resolution he proposed for that purpose.

On the 26th July, 1847, Lieutenant McWilliams, Second Pennsylvania Volunteers, says, in a letter forwarded to the War Department: "As regards 'clothing, I would prefer the clothing instead of 'the commutation thereof.'"

On the 14th of August, 1847, Lieutenant Ankrum, First Pennsylvania Volunteers, in speaking of the want of clothing, says:

"The dissatisfaction has been on the increase for two weeks past, during which time several have deserted, and others have manifested a disposition to follow their example."

And again, December 11, 1847:

"I cannot see the propriety of withholding clothing from our service."

Captain Scott, First Pennsylvania Volunteers, says, November 23, 1847:

"Some of the recruits come here in a truly destitute condition. One of those received this morning had but one shirt, and no shoes. When Congress meets, cannot provision be made to supply the volunteer recruits with clothing as the regulars are supplied?"

A joint application was also made by officers of the two Pennsylvania regiments of volunteers for the same allowance of clothing as regulars receive.

I have also extracts from letters received at the War Department, and written by Lieutenant Ashley, Lieutenant Gardner, Lieutenant Kinney, and Captain Carrington, of the Virginia volunteers, Colonel Walbach, commanding dépôt for Virginia volunteers, and Colonel Morgan, late superintendent of the recruiting service—all urging the department to press the matter through Congress as speedily as possible, as the volunteers were actually suffering, and the service, in consequence, was much injured.

In compliance with these solicitations, the Adjutant General, from the purest and noblest motives, suggested the measure to the War department, and the Secretary of War recommended it in this strong language:

"I respectfully repeat the recommendation in my last annual report on the subject of clothing in kind for volunteers, in lieu of the money which is at present paid to them as a commutation. The experience of the past year has shown the necessity for this change. The clothing provided by the volunteers themselves, both in kind and quality, is generally unsuited for the service, and often proves to be deficient in quality. Serving in an enemy's country, and at a distance from the ordinary sources of supply, it can seldom be replaced when lost or worn out, and always at an exorbitant price. Much of the suffering which has been experienced by these troops may be attributed to the want of proper clothing. If authority were given to supply the volunteers in the manner provided for the regular troops, it is believed they would be better clothed, and at less cost to themselves and to the Government, than by the present mode. It is understood, that if such provision is made, the arrangements of the quartermaster's department are such, in relation to supplying clothing, that it can readily furnish a supply to the volunteers."—(See Ex. Doc. No. 1, p. 66.)

The War Department having adopted the suggestions made by the Adjutant General, prepared and sent to the Military Committee of the Senate a bill to authorize the President to call out twenty thousand volunteers, for the further prosecution of the war with Mexico, with the substance of the law alluded to as one of the sections. For the benefit of the volunteers, the committee in the Senate—composed of Messrs. Cass, Benton, Crittenden, Davis of Mississippi, Dix, Badger, and Rusk—unanimously decided to report this section as a separate bill, and thus obtain for that measure more speedy action than was anticipated for the bill of which it was a component part. On the motion of the gallant Colonel Davis, (than whom no man has shown a stronger attachment to the volunteers,) the committee changed the phraseology so as, in their opinion, to render the condition of the volunteers in the matter of clothing less identical with that of the regular army, and to avoid the construction that was afterwards temporarily placed upon it; and the section, thus modified, was reported by a member of the military committee to the Senate, which, on the 3d day of January last, passed it without division or amendment. (See letter of Col. Jeff. Davis, of the Senate, to Wm. C. H. Waddell, of New York city, June 28, 1848.) This shows clearly that it was thoroughly investigated and fully understood in the Senate.

Now for the action of the House. The bill was sent to it, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania says, it was stated to be a bill "for the benefit of volunteers; and it passed at once, without *inquiry or opposition*." Is this true? On the contrary, the Journals convict the gentleman of a most palpable and unjustifiable error. No man should prefer such an accusation without at least endeavoring to ascertain the facts; but what are we authorized to say of an honorable member, who *ought* to be conversant with the proceedings of the House, who makes such an unfounded assertion, in order to shelter himself, and condemn the "old volunteer?" I have no doubt I might easily select an epithet from the gentleman's own vocabulary which would be appropriate to the present occasion; but if he is not callous to the higher and more ennobling impulses of the human heart, his punishment will be severe enough when he reflects soberly upon the injustice he has attempted to do. What were the proceedings of the House upon this bill? It was referred to the Military Committee, composed of Messrs. Botts, Burt, Wilson, Haralson, Dickey, Boyd, Marvin, Haskell, and Fisher, (six Whigs and three Democrats,) not one of whom was hostile to the volunteers. On the 19th of January, they, through their chairman, (Mr. Botts,) reported it back to the House, without amendment, and recommended its passage, in which recommendation the House immediately concurred, and the gentleman himself voted for it. Where was his professed attachment for the volunteers then? Why did he vote for a bill which, in his opinion, was *shameful and unjust*? Ignorance of its contents does not excuse him, nor does it, in the slightest degree, mitigate his offence.

As soon as the order of the Adjutant General (of which the gentleman complains) was known, Colonel Davis brought it to the notice of the Military Committee of the Senate; and General Cass, and all the members of the committee, declared

that no such result was intended, or believed to be deducible from the terms of the act. Colonel Davis was thereupon deputed to make this known to the department, and afterwards the order was changed, and the true spirit and meaning of the law was carried into effect.*

Now, sir, this brief history shows the participation of General Cass in this matter; and is there another Whig on this floor so regardless of a proper sense of honor as to attempt to distort these facts so as to bring down odium and censure upon a gallant old soldier? If there be such amongst us, I know him not. See what two high-minded and honorable men say of it. Colonel Davis of the Senate, in his letter, says:

"The censure cast upon General Cass, on account of a bill which was reported from the Military Committee of the Senate during the present session, to provide clothing for volunteers in the service of the United States, is in every sense unjust."

Adjutant General Jones, (an honest Whig, who in the discharge of his official duties knows no party,) says, in a letter to Governor FELCH and myself:

"It is certainly unjust to attribute to General Cass any agency in constraining the last act of Congress in any way prejudicial to the volunteers; and I may add, I well know that his views are always liberal, and that he would be the last to advocate any measure which had for its *object* the reduction of their pay and allowances."

Sir, I close this part of my remarks with commending the course of the latter gentleman, one of his own party, to the attention of the member from Pennsylvania, and advise him hereafter to imitate it.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania charges that the expenses of the Government under Mr. Polk, have run up to \$60,000,000 a year; intending to convey the idea that such has been and would be the annual expenditures of the Government under the present Administration. Now, sir, what are the facts? The expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1845, were exclusive of the public debt, only \$21,895,369 61; those of 1845-'6, \$26,418,459 59; those of 1846-'7, (during the war,) \$53,801,569 37; and now that the war is over, they will not probably exceed \$25,000,000 annually. How can it be possible, then, that he should gravely state to this House, in another portion of his remarks, that "the President and his party could take sixty millions of dollars a year into Mexico?" Does he not know that the ordinary expenditures of the Government during a war could not be less than \$25,000,000, and that of the balance of the largest appropriation made, (\$53,801,569 37), at least one-third, and perhaps one-half, was expended in this country? This can be ascertained to a common certainty by application to the proper sources of information; but my estimate I believe closely approximates to the true amounts expended here and there.

* "ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
Washington, June 14, 1848."

"SIR: In reply to your note of the 12th instant, I have to inform you, that the allowance for clothing to volunteers, as at present fixed, has not been diminished from former rates, but is the same (\$3 50 per month) as was allowed before the passage of the act of January 26, 1848, and more than one dollar per month greater than is allowed to soldiers of the regular army."

"Very respectfully, R. JONES, Adjutant General.
Hon. ALPHIUS FELCH,
Senate United States, Washington, D. C."

Again he says, "Mr. Polk had found some \$17,000,000 of debt, and had now run it up to \$100,000,000 or over." Now, sir, if I am correctly informed, the national debt, at the expiration of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1848, did not exceed but a fraction over \$65,000,000, and of the \$16,000,000 loan not one cent has been expended, and it is altogether probable that it will cover nearly (if not all) the contingencies of the war. But why does the gentleman object so wrongly to a national debt? Is it not the opinion of his party that a "national debt is a national blessing?" We certainly should judge so from their legislative conduct and from the tendency of their measures.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania has made some remarks against this Administration in regard to the number of collection districts; and has run a parallel between the receipts and expenditures of those districts, to which I desire to advert. This charge was made against Mr. Van Buren's administration, in the famous canvass of 1840; and when the Whigs got into power, they appear to have forgotten that it had been mentioned during the campaign, for so far as I can learn, they never attempted to remedy the evil, (if it was an evil,) but permitted it to remain untouched. This shows one of two things, either that they did not see the same corruption in the system of collecting the revenues of the Government after as before the election, or they were willing to give it countenance to subserve party purposes. The collection districts to which the gentleman alluded were all, I believe, in existence at that time, and perhaps that gentleman could give some good reason for their retention. Those who make this charge appear not to be aware of the fact, that some of our collection districts in which but little revenue is collected, are important to the Government in protecting the revenue from fraud, suppressing smuggling, and giving facilities to our coasting trade, and the commerce between the States. But, sir, is it not strange that the gentleman from Pennsylvania, who has been here for the last two terms, should not have brought this subject before to our attention, and more especially when his party has the ascendancy in this House, and the Committee of Commerce, to which it appropriately belongs, is composed of five Whigs and four Democrats, and judging from the character of its members, would most cheerfully consider any proposition that might be referred to them? I would appeal to the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. GRINNELL,] than whom no man in this House is more thoroughly acquainted with commercial affairs, and inquire of him whether he believes any of these custom-houses, &c., can be properly dispensed with?

Mr. GRINNELL made no reply.

Mr. McCLELLAND proceeded. If the complaint of the gentleman from Pennsylvania be well founded, why has not the committee taken charge of the subject, and introduced a bill to dispense with such as were superfluous? On the contrary, they have introduced bills for several new collection districts, which I predict will not yield one farthing for ten that the treasury will have to supply to support them. No salutary retrenchment can be made until our laws relating to commerce and navigation are revised, modified, and the entire system remodeled; and I tell the gentleman from Pennsylvania, this is not the work of a day.





With this view, I introduced, during the last Congress, a resolution, which was submitted to the Committee on Commerce, and reported upon favorably; but after it had passed, it was, upon motion of my friend from Philadelphia, [Mr. J. R. INGERSOLL, without any intention on his part to defeat it,] reconsidered, in order to permit him to amend so as to cover a revision of all our laws, and the resolution was then, on account of the magnitude of the design, unfortunately laid on the table, "to sleep the sleep that knows no waking." When I was a member of the Committee on Commerce, I introduced a bill regulating the compensation of collectors and other officers of the customs, which became a law, and which has saved the Government annually some fifty thousand dollars. My friend from North Carolina [Mr. McKAY] has, for several years, been laboring to reduce the expenses of collecting the revenue. And Mr. Walker, (Secretary of the Treasury,) at this session, recommended a reduction. His suggestions, and those of my friend from North Carolina, were adopted by the Committee of Ways and Means, and the aggregate amount has been reduced from \$2,059,617 86, in 1846-'7, and \$2,090,916 in 1847-'8 to \$1,570,000 in 1848-'9. Does this look like a disposition in the Democratic party to throw any obstacles in the way of salutary retrenchment and reform? Will the gentleman please show any such indication on his side of the House, unless it is just before some important election?

Gentlemen had complained of the extravagance of this Administration, but in all cases fail to give us the items. It is an easy thing to make sweeping declarations and naked assertions, but far more difficult to specify and particularize. The gentleman from Pennsylvania takes us back to the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, and, without making any allowance for the growth of our country, its territories, its trade, commerce, business of all descriptions; without reflecting that it has become one of the greatest nations, in all respects, in the world—censures Mr. Polk and the Democratic party for not reducing all our national expenditures to those of Mr. Adams's administration. Sir, if your party is sincere in these complaints, and if you are really honest in your professions, (when you talk as the gentleman from Pennsylvania does,) let me ask why you did not apply the knife in 1841-'42, when you had the power? Why did you increase them far beyond those of Mr. Adams's administration and of subsequent Administrations?

In 1811, the expenditures (exclusive of the public debt) were.....\$26,193,840 29

In 1842.....24,361,336 50

You then were hurled from power, and the Democratic party succeeded: and look at the difference, in so short a period!

The expenditures (the time of commencing the fiscal year having been changed from 1st January to 1st July) were, for six months in 1843.....\$11,256,508 60

In 1843-'44.....20,650,103 01

In 1844-'45.....21,895,369 61

Is it not, then, really amusing, here, where we know each other, and where the course of each is closely observed, to hear the Whigs lecture upon retrenchment and reform? Does not your party, as a party, vote, almost invariably, for the largest appropriations, whether in public or private bills?

Are you not for a splendid government, conducted on the most magnificent scale? No man can come to any other conclusion, who has watched attentively your course of legislation during the last five years. In truth, one of the great differences between parties here, is, that the one party (with some exceptions) is favorable to what they term "liberal" appropriations, whilst the other is for scrutinizing closely every item in an appropriation bill, and conducting the business of the Government just as economically as their own.

A word or two to my friend from Georgia, [Mr. TOOMBS,] who has just preceded me, and I have done. He says General Taylor, if elected, will bring back this Government to the purer principles and policy of General Washington; but he most studiously avoids giving us any idea of what those principles or that policy are. He places himself on the Allison letter, upon which almost any and every construction may be put. From it you cannot tell whether General Taylor is in favor of a bank or against it, for the sub-treasury or against it, for a protective tariff or against it, for internal improvements or against them, for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands or against it; and for the Wilmot proviso or against it. This is your candidate. Seeing such is your mood, and you are disposed to take General Taylor without pledges, and without any avowal of principles, and fight the battle of 1840 over again, I would most respectfully recommend to you the perusal of the letter of the Hon. Willoughby Newton (a highly respectable Whig, and recently a member of this House from the Old Dominion) to a Whig committee in Richmond, in February, 1844, who invited him, I believe, to assist in preparing an address from a convention to the Whigs of Virginia. In that letter, speaking of the contest of 1840, Mr. Newton says:

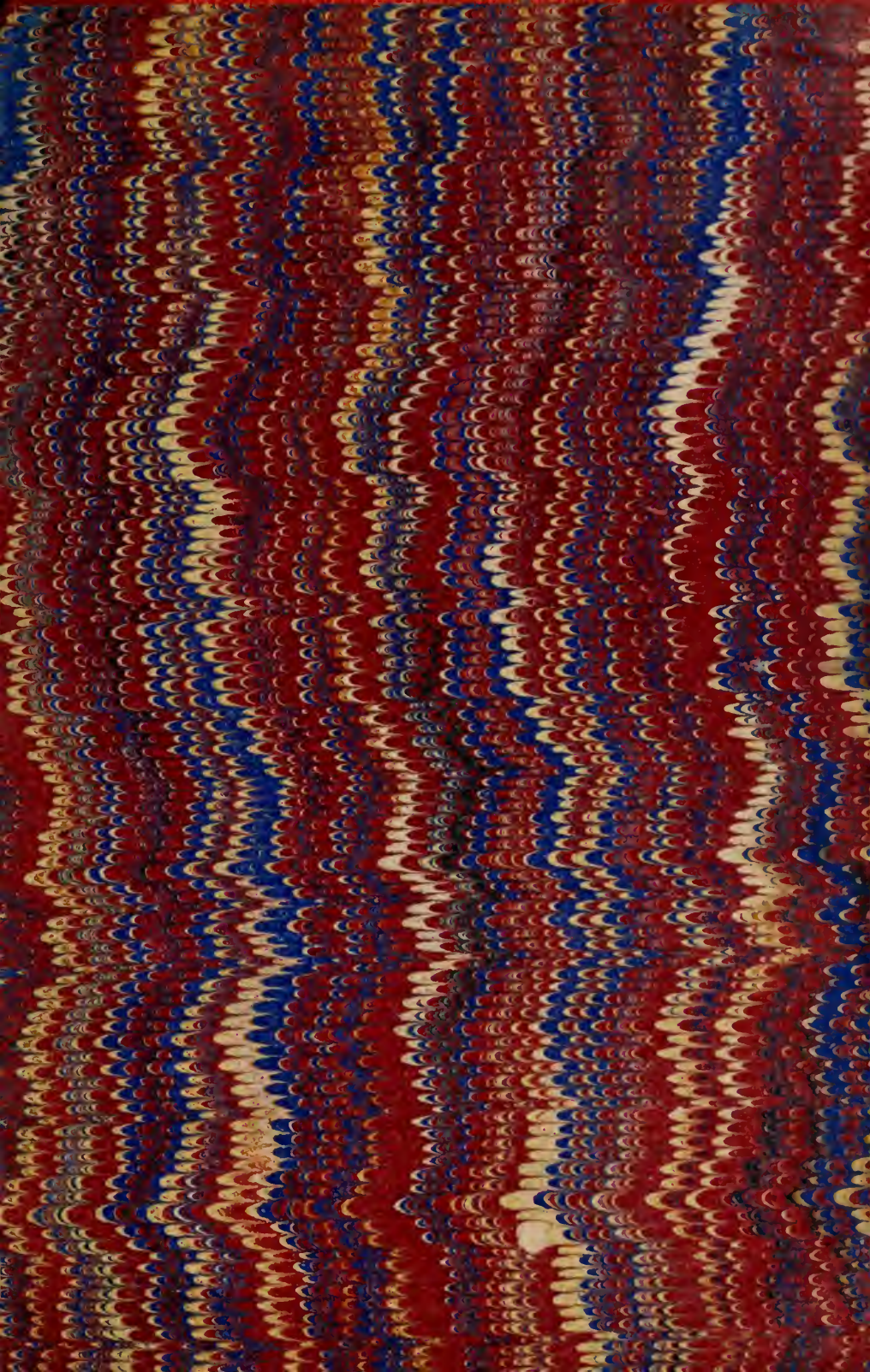
"We had a long and arduous contest, and achieved what we supposed a glorious triumph. But what advantages have we reaped from our labors? The fruits of all our toils have turned to ashes on our lips; and we may truly exclaim with Pyrrhus, 'one more such victory, and we are undone.'"

And if your anticipations are realized, that period is approaching. But in my judgment, the signs of the times indicate that the period has arrived, and that the Whig party, as the party was known under the "imbodiment" of its principles, is already broken into fragments. How much more noble it would be for your party, sinking as it is, to be defeated contending for principles, in pursuance of this most salutary advice of Mr. Newton:

"Let me adjure the convention not to repeat the errors of 1840, which have been the fruitful source of all our woes. Let them remember that 'honesty is the best policy,' both in public and private life. I think I know something of the Virginia character. Our people are liberal and ingenuous; they will tolerate an honest difference of opinion, sincerely entertained and honestly expressed; but they abhor even the appearance of dissimulation. Let the convention, therefore, boldly avow the principles of the party—advocate a national bank, *eo nomine*, and without circumlocution, a tariff with proper discrimination for the reasonable protection of our great domestic interests, and such other measures as they may deem essential to the purity of the Government and the prosperity of the people.

Here the chairman's hammer fell, and further remarks were precluded.





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